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Flores OF9

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-1950

PART III

FLORES

Roworeke - Wailolong - Weol (Veol)

Flores (preliminary): I talked with Riekerk, 124 who was there three years ago, and got this: 647 The Assistant Resident at Ende is Twerida; the 485 Controleurs are Hettinga and Ariens; the Finance man is Fekkes. There are government station houses (pasanggrahans) at least in Ende, Detusoko, Wolowaru, Larantuka, Badjawa, Ruteng, Reo, and a place ten kilometers from Maumere.

131 Distances are: Maumere--Larantuka 130 km., Maumere--Ende 140 km., Ende--Badjawa 125 km., Badjawa--Ruteng 125 km., Ruteng--Reo 60 km. Running times, respectively, are 4, 5, 5, 6, and 2 hours.

634 The kepala daerah is the Radja of Sikka, Dom Tomas da Silva.

124 Possible kampongs for investigation are Sita, 50 km. south of Ruteng, or Ruteng kampong or one nearby, for Manggerai; Wologai, 50 km. east of Ende, and there is a pasanggrahan at Ndetosoko, 9 km. to the south, or a part of Ende itself, or Roworeke (population: five hundred) 161 near Ende in the hills, for Ende. The population of Ende is five thousand. The population of Maumere is about the same.

634 Kringa is the center of Tana Ai. There are many troubles here over the succession of the radjas and it has resulted in a number of difficult cases. He says to watch out.

634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.

622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.

631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.

124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

634 that Flores is a hard place to be any kind of
578 a ruler in because of the feuds between chiefs
[648] and radjas of all grades. The Dutch complicated matters by changing land borders, putting favorites in offices instead of proper candidates, and altering the borders of petty states. Thus at one time Sikka was a much larger territory, but then Ende was made independent and after that Lio split off from it, and Ndona made a further split. The same thing happened in Flores as in Ambon formerly: the weaker chiefs were raised up and the stronger ones were lowered. Later on, in Roworeke, I heard much about this and how often after a split or a revision of frontiers or putting in an improper man, the people would rebel either passively or actively, and the Dutch would come and tie ropes around the people's necks and take them off to jail. I was told that whole populations might be thus taken in. Thus, one man said, the people finally became very much afraid and did not dare to disobey the rules of the government. Hence there are plenty of old scores and sores here. Now I understand why Riekerk said I must not get mixed up in the feuds of the Flores chiefs.

634 Anyway, there was also a Radja of Adonara on
142 board. He looked rather Ambonese, dark with wavy and almost kinky hair and a bony Papuan face. He was rather short too. He spoke a little English and seemed more intelligent than the others. This was a surprise as I have regarded Adonara as a really primitive area. The Radja of Larantuka, who the Controleur Amiens later told me was next to Sikka in power and prestige, seemed to be shy and dopy and rather moody. He has rather light skin and is very dolichocephalic with his head running to a kind of long cone in the rear. He has kinky hair which grows down on either side brow. The Radja

634 from Kupang was large, round, and of an almost
142 Caucasoid Negro type. He was very pleasant. He sweats a lot. Next to the Radja of Adonara, he seemed to be the most agreeable and the most intelligent. The Radja of Nageh Keo was obviously a minor radja in comparison to the others, while he was a nice lad, looking exactly like a Negroid Abdul Careem.

There were also two members of parliament, one from Larantuka but now resident in Ende, and the other from Kupang. They were young and agreeable lads. There was also the Radja of Ende, a smooth faced but dark fellow with straight hair. He looked a little like a dark Bao Dai. He was very pleasant and later helped a lot with getting a start in Ende. I had a few talks with these fellows, but I did not learn much.

122 We landed at Ende early on the morning of December 14, and I had to take the jeep off on a double barge. I drove it down the ramp to the beach.

As usual, the Information Office in Makassar had not sent the wire, or at least that is what the Dutchman said who met us. The Dutchmen who did come to meet us were Twerda, the Assistant Resident; two Controleurs, Ariens and Hettinga; and a Finance man Fekkes. The best one of these was the tall Ariens. All the radjas went
485 to the pasanggrahan and we nearly had to go to another one. Finally, however, we got a little room for two. We had lunch in state with the radjas at the pasanggrahan. The Ende radja was met by a delegation of hadjis recently back
771 from Mecca. The Ende radja is Mohammedan, and he told me later that in Ende the proportion of Christians to Mohammedans is about sixty-forty, but plenty of the people are pagan.

361 The town here is on a very picturesque bay,
133 with Pulo Ende rearing in it and with impressive

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

● 634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

634 Badjawa (the capital of Nageh Keo is Boawai). The Ngada radja is an old style man with thirty wives who hunts and does nothing else. A relative, a wakil, does the work. To the west is the Radja of Manggarai, with the capital at Ruteng. The Dutch Controleur, Degens, also resides in Ruteng. The former radja died three to four months ago, and the new one has not yet been installed.

361 I began by riding out along the road toward Badjawa, and got to a ford about fifteen kilometers out. On the way I saw plenty of small and disorderly looking kampongs, with a definitely different arrangement and house style from 515 any other of the places I have been. Also, I noticed that the people here are slovenly, dirty, and strange in appearance. This is a real mongrel zone, and neatness is noticeably lacking in the people and in the villages. On 771 this west side of Ende in the coastal kampongs the people are mainly Mohammedan. On the east side and into the mountains they are mainly Christian. But in both cases, there are just about as many pagans, and sometimes the pagans are in the majority.

563 The next day I rode out to the east and into 361 the mountains as far as Ndetosoko, high in the 291 mountains. On the evening of the day before I 515 rode out to the other side of the Ende peninsula to Ipi beach. Along this stretch is a kampong made up mostly of Savunese. The houses are of a different style and the people are more like those from Roti in appearance (somewhat of a Hindu type), with sarongs having nice designs and horizontal patterns. I was told by the Controleur's wife that the Savunese are clean and are used here as babu, etc. The Savunese also keep their kampong clean and neat.

764 I stopped here and there along the road into the mountains of Lio and noted some remarkable

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

•634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

124 I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
634 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
632 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

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●634 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja
632 but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

634 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is
621 part of the state of Lio, is along the road in
648 front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both
632 Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

621 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitan-
632 schappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 578 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 614 476 237 They say that the bride price is necessary for marriage, and that the price is really high. They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone because they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
[436] [727]
614 582 [591] Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are concerned and residence is patrilocal. They did

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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

342 Then we went back to the kapitan's house and thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibou and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Before the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days. [178]

773 173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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793 if they do anything against Catholicism, the guru
178 tells the priest, and the latter or the bearded
797 bishop will condemn them to hell. Thus the threat of hell fire keeps them in line, and the priests are no better than the old witch doctors. This is why so much of the old religion is dying
F out fast.

●634 In the afternoon, at the Radja of Sikka's house, we met the wakil radjas of Ngada (the old Radja has many wives and hunts all the time), Manggarai (a Hindu type, the man with two wives, a Catholic), and Nageh. These plus the new Radja of Lio and several others will meet tomorrow at the pasanggrahan.

F Note on the "office" of the kapitan at Rowo-
344 reke: While we were talking a horse entered the office from the rear and stood there attracting flies. After a long while the secretary went out and chased the horse away.

A Note on Ambon: In Makassar, I met Drop, who
753 said that he had never heard of Baier, former
789 Controleur of Piru, Ceram, having had a matakau cause trouble for him, as I was told in Ambon. I remember it was said that old Gaspersz met him and his face was twisted and his eyes crossed after he unsuspectingly ate a bit of a snake which was cooking in the Ceram hills. The story in Ambon was that within a week he was stricken agonizingly and had to be removed to Makassar where the doctors could not tell what the cause was. Evidently, the truth is, or at least seems plausible, that he was sick when Gaspersz met him and looked bad. He was then told the story about the snake, and Gaspersz with true superstitious Ambonese imagination, filled in the whole business, which then grew with each retelling. I got it from Rehatta finally. Drop said there was nothing wrong with Baier now. Of course, this is a couple of months later, and he may have been worse before.

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511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have [312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

164 Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I 511 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we ●634 were told that it is hard for the mission to 661 make plans here, because every time they get an 423 improvement, for example, in the land system, 427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land. 624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

622 We had some gin with the priest and then went 159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely
minature rectangular houses for female ancestors, are notable features in just about all of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt[1] says the bhaga are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of structures are erected by the prosperous folk to show respect and honor to their dead ancestors. Each one is given the name of the ancestor. Evidently, a person may build one for himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
●634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't write, and is still a pagan, but he says that his children are Christian. He is very jolly and although tolerant I can see that he thinks little of the missions. He also criticized the forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road work when he was young. He said that anyone who wouldn't follow orders, including the radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
[595] Florenese. He never does much in administration, but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told us that he has many children and grandchildren. He gets in trouble with the government for burning the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable

[1] [See pp. 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great economic problem.

114 He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scholars'
124 findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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721 whips. Later the mandur of the pasanggrahan,
555 a Manggarai man from kampong Ruteng, said that girls especially like a man who has knocked out another's eye with a whip.[1] It looks like a head-hunting pattern, but so far I have gotten no response on the subject of head-hunting, and the priests say it did not exist here even in former times. I must check on this.

[126] We took photographs, and one of them was of
● 634 the Radja. He was a bit drunk, and said that
273 the dancers were hot inside too. He made what
537 seemed to me to be an unnecessary speech to
609 the men around him to the effect that we were Americans and not Dutch and as to why we were here. Later he said he was busy as this was the day of the kampong folk. He said he would see us later so that if we needed any help we could call on him, and he could also warn us of possible dangers. The latter reference was vague, and I can't see the point. He called a lad who came with a bottle of brandy and we had drinks in front of a great crowd. He wore a songko, which is strange for a Christian radja. Evidently, from what we hear, the Radja here has been in for only a short time, and this one is both young and new, as his father died recently (maybe not his father?)

614 Then we went back to the pasanggrahan and
582 talked with the mandur who said that in the Ruteng kampong there is still plenty of the old culture. He said it is possible to marry inside the va'u (this is the correct spelling) or outside. He said marriages usually occur outside. He said something about how if one partner was from the older sibling branch of the va'u and the other from the younger sibling branch, they may marry (could it be that here we have a subclan?) The assistant says they have panga inside the va'u, and he gave his own as the first, which I think means the older branch. Thus

[1] [i.e., during the ritualized mock warfare games; see p.92, cit. 116 --Analyst]

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614 166 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 773 824 784 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring below Weol. There are bamboo trees there descended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 784 562 783 Women from other clans marrying into Weol must take on the taboo of their husbands. A Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 632 624 622 [634] There is a nobility which applies to the radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the central kampongs of the gelarang districts, for example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

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[585] [565] [784] [614] [286] exactly the same rites and all moves are the same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas' word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. IIB--Analyst]

243 where around the earthen plaza there are Every-
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
●634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

634 166 361 into the hills with their Christian and pagan relatives and leave the lower lands for the Mohammedans.

632 634 771 578 I wonder if the kapitan of Nggobe, the fat and aggressive man, plus the kapitan of Rodja, who seem to be the right hand men of the Radja, may not form a triumvirate of Mohammedan rule here. The Christians rely on the priests to intervene (the Dutch are no longer here for appeal), and it will result in a funny situation if there is Mohammedan-Catholic trouble here. Note also that of the seven radjas here, only one (Ende) is Mohammedan; and one pagan (Ngada). The others are Christian (Manggarai, Nageh, Sikka, Lio, and Larantuka). This presents a curious pattern, especially when one considers that the RIS is mainly Mohammedan. This is similar to the Ambon situation. The Christian majority locally is in a difficult situation with the former local Mohammedan minority now in the majority group of all Indonesia. No wonder the Christians of Indonesia are frequently against independence.

632 829 The former kapitan is quite bitter, but he is clearly glad to see us and talked a lot to us about his troubles, with the obvious although vague idea that we might get the United States to help in some way. He was impressed by the United States elective system and especially gasped with pleasure when we told him that if a leader was not good to the majority of the folk he would not get reelected. He was also impressed with the fact that we told him there are no radjas. But I reminded him that his claim to office rested on inherited succession, and he began to think. They like succession when it is to their advantage, but see the useful points in the elective system when they can visualize that such a condition might ruin their rivals.

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829 assistant said that he just did it, and that it was a revelation to him. They simply do not think in such diagrammatic terms.

769 186 The ancestor cult is strong here and there are many stories about it, but it is not used to glorify the place. In fact, there is no real pride as such. They are simply satisfied as they know nothing else. There is no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village.

178 There has been very little change here in regard to the expanding horizons of social and economic contact.

721 578 178 The old wars and head-hunting continued until recently. Wars seem to have been caused mostly over border disputes, so far as they can remember. Heads were taken as a sign of victory. But I got very little regarding a real head-hunting cult. They said that the heads were placed on the borders, evidently on the borders over which the war had been fought. [789] [266] They said voluntarily that they ate the hearts of enemies in order to increase their magic power. They are quite clear and vivid about this. The hearts were removed through an incision in the back under the shoulder blade. The main enemies were Nggobe and Rodja, but there is no hostility now. More seldom, war was waged against the Lio folk. Spears and [411] guns were used, and formerly bows. Bows were used especially by the Nggobe folk. Circular shields were made of buffalo hide and wood. There were alliances of mutual aid too. For example, Rewarangga (Worowai) and Odja (Roworeke) were in such an arrangement. Also, they [634] went to war for the Ende radja who paid wages for this.

721 634 The radja bitjara (a post no longer present in Ende; he was a kind of minister of foreign relations) (and he was able to talk all lan-

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721 guages and thus carry on negotiations) would
●[634] request soldiers. Such wars were usually against the coastal folk on the north, that is, Lio and Ende there. In the old days, just
721 about every outside kampong was considered
484 dangerous and it was seldom that a trip was
578 made there unless a bond of friendship existed
178 between one's kampong and the area visited.
[608] Now all of these kampongs are friendly. Still I note that they don't like to sleep all night outside the kampong. This is especially true of the old folks.

829 Note on ideas concerning the "place" of the local kampong in the world: In just about every kampong, when I ask about the ranking of world countries in population, they do not know what to say (although a young boy knew that China was the largest), but at once the assistant and others get paper and copy down the exact ranking from me with figures. They evidently want to spring the question on other people and stick them. It does show a definite curiosity about these things.

608 The people here have a sort of pela bond
574 between kampongs, or at least they did at one
578 time in the past. They do not drink the blood
178 of each other as in Ambon, but they hold a feast and drink the blood and eat the hearts of the animals killed. And they eat together. They pledge that they will not war against each other and that they will show a certain degree of hospitality to each other. Thus Roworeke has such a bond with Waturoga, Waturoga with Ndona, etc. This was all in the past, and I didn't find out if there are any survivals. I think there are, because the guru from Ndona said that it is easy for him to live in Waturoga as his kampong had a bond with it. In addition, he married in.

721 War was tabooed by the Dutch in 1908, and
648 since then there have been no wars.
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We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
●634 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[153] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ances-
[152] tral punishment. If they do not obey, they become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kalang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

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783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

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592 The oldest man is the head of the house, and his eldest son succeeds him. This is invariable. The eldest woman is the manager (nu'a luka rumah tangga). The eldest son's wife succeeds her.

783 673 It is interesting to note that both adat sins and church sins are kept track of.

509 We left Larantuka on Tuesday, January 9, and stopped that night in Maumere, so that Kattenburg can get his plane to Makassar on Wednesday.

286 On Wednesday I went on to Ende, and this took six hours, because I went to Sikka (didn't quite get there because the road had been torn up, although I did see Lela, which is near it). Sikka is really isolated, and the road leading there is poor. I noticed all along the road that there were women under or beside the houses weaving. This is true all over Flores. I noticed the drying of threads after dyeing, the looms, the wheels, the piles of cotton, etc. I note the same thing in Roworeke, Wailolong, Leloba, and everywhere.

634 661 439 789 769 I heard much about the radjas' shady business practices (led by the Radja of Sikka, but Larantuka is in on it too) in regard to the surplus distribution sold in Makassar and the copra smuggled into Singapore, etc. The Chinese are in on the deal. Some day these radjas will be out, and this will be better for everyone. I talked with Arriens[1] about them and he was doubtful that they have much magic power here, but I think there is quite a bit. It is perhaps not so directly electrical as in Celebes, but the respect hangs heavy, and they are the apex of the whole ancestor cult. This is true of Larantuka, and I suspect it is true of the other areas.

632 634 Arriens said there has been much trouble in Tana Ai, because they want their own kapitan, but Sikka evidently has his own ideas. Until

[1] [i.e., Controleur at Ende -- Analyst]

634 Until 1
632 not so long ago there were three radjas there:
177 Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also
[661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng,
526 Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on
124 Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be
624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [i.e., in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [i.e., Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

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632 634 622 [77] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
	Total	37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

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462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he lets it be known that he will lend it, and he does so at interest. People seldom borrow more than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will lend only if the borrower has some form of security, for example, a gold decoration. He charges the same rate. There were and are no government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6 and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong. They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese stores but have smaller stock.

622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
● 634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post. There have been changes in the borders too. Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family lives near the bridge but no longer has the post. (All over Flores there must be these fragments of old-time ruling families, and there is a great deal of potential trouble here unless the whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

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178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

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632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

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614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

000 showing the basis of the elective system here.

In regard to Roti, the radio repair man said that there are seventeen radjas in the island, and all are jealous of each other's rights. It is more civilized than Savu, where there are still plenty of pagans. In both islands the main food in the mountains is sugar water. And the islands are so overpopulated that they will fight even over a bit of wood to cook sugar from a palm. This is why, Arriens says, so many people from Roti are outside, and many of them are in the government too. They are clever and are forced to leave because of the population problem.

Roti is hard to deal with as they are always having lawsuits. Every new controleur is the signal for all of the old cases to be brought up again, for generations back. The recent controleur broke down under the strain. They also spied on him, even looking at what his boy bought in the market. They are terrible troublemakers. I remember Nunuhitu saying in Makassar that his family was just getting under way again on an old lawsuit, and this time he was determined to win. Thus it is an example of the feud pattern under the pressure of great need. And there is some of the clan business too.

634 661 The radjas here are operating on a small scale, and have to make their own way, for example, Nageh has plenty of gold articles, but it is ceremonial property and cannot be sold. He has part share in a movie in Ende, along with the Chinese. The Radjas of Sikka and Larantuka are evidently in a smuggling business and in also on the sale of distribution supplies with the Chinese.

511 515 Why don't the children have their noses blown? Mrs. Arriens has a good answer, aside from general filth. It is that there is no

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

We I note also that
554 there is a kind of mark of "upperness" in the
[177] wearing of European shirts by the men! This
[291] probably holds for the European dress worn by
some women too.

195 Roy says that in Larantuka town there is a high and a low language, but I wonder if this may not mean that there is merely a polite idiom. Here in this area they all speak the same language, but use fancier language in the
[554] ceremonies. The only titles are those of the listed posts. One must be respectful to the uppers.

614 The whole rank system depends on genealogi-
565 cal descent. There are no rules in regard to interclass marriage, and everything depends upon the suku system.

634 The Radja of Larantuka is a descendant of
565 the Ili, just as the other folk are. He is a bit mixed up with Timor, via Pategolo. And the Radja kedua is from Kroko Putang. However, the entire upper "nobility" is really integrated with the commoners. That is, there is no heaven descent. They are just like the other people, except genealogically they are ranked a bit higher. All power also depends on descent.

793 In 1905 the first guru of Leloba, Bala, started his religious work. He had been converted before this at the school in Larantuka. At that time there were priests in Larantuka.

361 In 1912 a church was built at the kampong lama of Riang Kamiñ (this is another example of how much and how recently these kampongs have been moved from place to place). In fact, only in these years, all kampongs except Lewoneda were still in the hills. Wailolong was moved from the hills to the beach in 1913. At that time a guru was sent to Wailolong, and in 1922 or 1923 Wailolong moved to the present location.

We

632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

● 634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo 685 with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

½ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

565 621 174 177 the old adat:

(1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.

(2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and Pongkor.

177 565 621 634 [174] Thus the locals may have been merely under a double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It may be that it was like the Madjapahit situation in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be one. Now comes the question whether the dalu [578] work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 634 565 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit drunk during the feast told us that he would advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
●634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

565 614 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 621 565 634 648 The history may be something like this:

(1) Originally, and until about three hundred years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

(2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 614 I checked over the marriages in Veol and Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 425 624 This last category accounts for the many outside couples. Thus I discovered that they can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 624 This led to a discussion of the division of land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] [634] [661] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they

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425 624 565 634 661 stand with the families and get a share, like any ordinary person? This led to the usual wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he came through. The truth is that the kraeng don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan [578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas 1
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people putter about, for example, the old women make mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is redoubled each year, and if it is finally unpaid, there may be a court case and the person may have to pay a horse (the present price of
[435] a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they borrow rice and corn and why they do this from kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in November and December, when the crops are growing. Thus if the population continues to increase, some will have to move. The reason the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's gardens was that there was an actual shortage of land. I didn't realize this trouble before. There are actually poor people here because the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even new gardens are possible here. But no one starves. I asked what the main worry was. They said getting cloth. It is very hard to get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those who do a bit of work in other people's gardens. The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In 1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang, the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

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622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "tenu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a tenu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

● 634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
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648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

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666 (4) Lingkoadjang (East Manggarai)
646 (5) Reo (North Central Manggarai).
635 There is one elector for each five hundred adult taxpaying males. Thus there is one for Veol, and one for Ndung (i.e., for the Ndung gelarang). The kraeng who "works" with me is an elector from Veol. To choose electors, all five hundred men come (or can come) to the
632 place of the meeting. The dalu is the chairman, and the djurutulis sits apart and each man files past him and whispers his choice. He totals up the votes and announces the leaders. There may be four to six or more who become candidates for the position of elector. Then everyone files by again and whispers his choice. The winner is the one who gets the most votes.

From the Tjantjar district there are about one hundred and fifty electors (this means that there are in this area about seventy-five thousand "voters"). On the appointed day they come to Tjantjar (selected because it is on the road and centrally located), and a man from "the office" acts as chairman. Each elector gets a slip of paper and writes his choice on it. They are added, and the highest few are candidates. In the last election here there were three candidates: Dalu Rahong, a clerk in Ende named Hambur from Todo, and a guru from Ruteng named Tjangkung. The guru won, and became the Tjantjar area representative. Note that they can choose a man from anywhere in Manggarai. Conceivably all five members could be from one town! I think this is the English system too, i.e., a local representative need not be a local resident. Note that the dalu got on the slate (old influence) but didn't win (new influence).

634 I asked if there was any way to remove a
646 hereditary officer, for example, the radja.

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, [614] [632] they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 There have been no changes in the last fifty
565 years in regard to social classes here, except
634 that the kraengs have lost their power, and
621 that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is
567 now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang ata sekontu ata mangko' pitu	other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in
567 slaves (taki). It is remembered that three
661 men from Veol were taken off in this fashion,
178 but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.
[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

797 183 578 595 We are the ones who most often get lost to the church, and they are the ones who fight bitterly against the church. Perhaps here Mohammedanism might have an advantage, but the pig necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold. These people can get along without more than one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual life would be unthinkable. Thus each church has its weakness.

● 634 595 797 578 183 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was put in by the church, actually. He was a Catholic. The present one has two wives, one of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried. This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting radja and not a full radja. The mission runs Flores and will not agree to let him become a real radja as long as he remains a polygamist. The mission is on the spot. Probably the present man will never get the full status. This is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps them, although he is "Catholic." One of them, the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't accept polygamy.

554 177 171 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese senhora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no tendency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would work out all right, but the pig taboo would be very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

F 114 C 634 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F 634 565 632 578 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of Manggarai. He says that he should be radja, but that the mission put in a Catholic. He says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C 634 565 648 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

F 505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

[i.e., in Reo --Analyst]